

Message Text

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ACTION EB-07

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R 120001Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2093

INFO AMCONSUL MEDAN

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 0370

HONG KONG FOR TREASURY REP

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ID

SUBJ: SUHARTO PRESENTS 1976/77 DRAFT BUDGET

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT SUHARTO PRESENTED 1976/77 DRAFT GOI \$8.45 BILLION BUDGET TO PARLIAMENT JANUARY 7 IN SERIOUS SPEECH WHICH STRESSED SETBACKS TO DEVELOPMENT BECAUSE OF "GLOOMY" INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION AND PERTAMINA INDEBTEDNESS. HE DESCRIBED LATTER IN FORTNIGHT DETAIL, CALLING IT A "BITTER EXPERIENCE" AND A LESSON FOR CAUTION AND REALISM IN FUTURE. SUHARTO ANNOUNCED POLICY "EFFECTIVE JAN. 1, 1976" THAT GOI WILL INCREASE ITS SHARE OF PER BARREL PROFITS OF OIL COMPANIES. BUT EMBASSY HAS SUBSEQUENTLY LEARNED THAT ANNOUNCEMENT WAS STATEMENT OF GENERAL POLICY INTENT PREVIOUSLY CONVEYED TO OIL COMPANIES, TO BE IMPLEMENTED ONLY AFTER NEGOTIATIONS. NEW \$8.45 BILLION BUDGET, 45-0/0 OF WHICH IS FUNDED WITH OIL TAXES, IS BALANCED.

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IT IS 29 PERCENT LARGER THAN FY 75 BUDGET--COMPARED TO 73

PERCENT JUMP IN FY 75 OVER FY 74 BUDGET. ROUTINE EXPENDITURE PORTION OF NEW BUDGET CALLS FOR BAREBONES 6 PERCENT HIKE TO \$3.8 BILLION. HOWEVER, DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES IN BUDGET ARE UP 51 PERCENT TO \$4.6 BILLION, WHICH FOR FIRST TIME EXCEEDS ROUTINE BUDGET. SUHARTO STRESSED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN DEVELOPMENT AS PRIORITY GOAL OF NEW BUDGET IN LINE WITH REPELITA II POLICY, ALTHOUGH COMMUNICATIONS, ELECTRIC POWER, AND OTHER BIG INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS APPEAR TO CONSTITUTE ABOUT 30-40 PERCENT OF DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES. ABSENCE OF MAJOR GOVERNMENT PAY INCREASES AND CONTINUED TIGHT MONEY POLICY FOR 1976 ARE LAUDABLE FEATURES OF NEW BUDGET, BUT GIVEN CONTINUING 20 PERCENT INFLATION, WILL BE UNPOPULAR. END SUMMARY.

2. IN SOBER PROLOGUE TO OUTLINE OF BUDGET, SUHARTO SAID TWO BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY AND RECOGNITION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN REALITIES WHICH LIMIT INDONESIA'S CAPABILITIES AND REQUIRES ADHERENCE TO PRIORITIES. ELABORATING ON THESE THEMES, HE NOTED HEAVY IMPACT ON INDONESIA'S DEVELOPMENT THIS YEAR OF PERTAMINA CRISIS, WHICH INCREASED NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF WORLDWIDE RECESSION AND INFLATION. HE CALLED CURRENT WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER "UNBALANCED AND UNJUST", BUT SAID AWARENESS OF INTERDEPENDENCE HAS STARTED "TO INDUCE NATIONS... TO JOINTLY FIND A SOLUTION" AND PLEDGED INDONESIA WOULD CONTINUE COOPERATIVE POLICY IN STRIVING FOR A "NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER."

3. SUHARTO THEN SPOKE WITH UNUSUAL DIRECTNESS AND AT GREAT LENGTH ON PROBLEM OF PERTAMINA'S DEBTS, WHICH HE CALLED SECOND MAJOR SETBACK AFTER WORLD-WIDE RECESSION AND INFLATION TO INDONESIA'S DEVELOPMENT, AND DESCRIBED GO'S CORRECTIVE MEASURES. HE CALLED PERTAMINA PROBLEM A "BITTER LESSON," REPEATING PHRASE HE USED IN NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS. HE ATTRIBUTED PERTAMINA PROBLEM TO BOTH UNEXPECTED TIGHTENING IN WORLD CAPITAL MARKET WHICH LED PERTAMINA INTO SHORT-TERM BORROWING AND DEFAULT, AND COMPANY'S MANAGEMENT INADEQUACIES. NEGATIVE REPERCUSSIONS OF PROBLEM WHICH HAVE HARMED DEVELOPMENT INCLUDED DROP IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES REQUIRING NEW FOREIGN COMMERCIAL LOANS OF \$1 BILLION, DEFAULT IN PERTAMINA TAX PAYMENTS AND NEED

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FOR GOVERNMENT TO ASSUME PERTAMINA'S "ENORMOUS" UNPAID RUPIAH OBLIGATIONS. AS RESULT, GOVERNMENT FORCED TO CAREFULLY LIMIT NEW BORROWING FROM ABROAD - WITHIN LIMITS OF ABILITY TO REPAY - AND DOMESTIC CREDIT EXPANSION. GREATER CAUTION AND VIGILANCE ARE NEEDED IN ALL SECTORS OF ECONOMY IN FUTURE, HE SAID, TO AVOID REPETITION OF PROBLEM AND KEEP DOWN INFLATION WHICH, PRESIDENT SAID, IS NOW RUNNING AT 19.6 PERCENT COMPARED TO PEAK OF 33 PERCENT IN

FY74.

4. MAJOR AIM OF NEW BUDGET, SUHARTO SAID, IS TO CONTINUE NEW ORDER'S GOAL OF BALANCED ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND GREATER ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR COMMON PEOPLE, WITHOUT ENDANGERING ECONOMIC STABILITY. HE URGED RESTRAINT IN EXPENDITURES, INCREASED DIRECT TAX COLLECTIONS, AND AN END TO SMUGGLING AND MISUSE OF FUNDS.

5. SUHARTO MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES THAT GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE PRIORITY TO BOOSTING AND DIVERSIFYING TRADITIONAL NON-OIL EXPORTS WHICH ARE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO REGIONAL INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT. HE SAID POLICIES TO PROMOTE TRADITIONAL EXPORTS, WHICH SLUMPED BADLY THIS YEAR, "MIGHT" INCLUDE REDUCTION OF EXPORT TAX, BUT LATER ADDED THAT EXPORT TAXES ON SOME COMMODITIES "WILL" BE CUT. (IN PAST, DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE HAS JEALOUSLY GUARDED EASILY-COLLECTED EXPORT TAX ON UNPROCESSED COMMODITIES, NOTWITHSTANDING DISINCENTIVE TO EXPORTS.) SUHARTO ALSO ANNOUNCED ESTATE CROP PRODUCTION WILL BE PROMOTED BY REPLACEMENT OF BURDENSOME CESS TAX ON PRODUCERS WITH BUDGETED FUNDS FOR ESTATE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. (THIS IS GOOD NEWS).

6. BUDGET OF \$8.45 BILLION FOR 1976/77 WHICH TAKES EFFECT APRIL 1, 1976 AFTER ADOPTION BY PARLIAMENT, REPRESENTS 29 PERCENT INCREASE OVER CURRENT BUDGET, COMPARED TO 73 PERCENT HIKE FROM FY 74 TO FY-75 BUDGET. \$6.76 BILLION OF NEW BUDGET WILL BE FINANCED FROM DOMESTIC RECEIPTS AND REMAINING APPROXIMATELY \$1.73 BILLION FROM FOREIGN AID AND EXPORT CREDITS (SEE PARA 9.). PROJECTED DOMESTIC RECEIPTS ARE \$1.6 BILLION IN INDIRECT TAXES, AND \$5.02 BILLION IN DIRECT TAXES (OF WHICH \$4 BILLION, OR 45 0/0 OF ENTIRE GOI BUDGET REPRESENTS OIL TAXES).

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7. IN WHAT APPEARED INITIALLY AS SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENT, SUHARTO SAID GOVERNMENT PLANS TO AUGMENT OVERALL OIL TAX COLLECTIONS BY 7.6 PERCENT "THROUGH REDUCTION OF PROFITS GAINED BY OIL COMPANIES ON EACH BARREL THEY PRODUCE, EITHER IN THE FRAMEWORK OF CONTRACTS OF WORK OR PRODUCTION SHARING AGREEMENTS." SUHARTO ASKED OIL COMPANIES FOR "UTMOST UNDERSTANDING" OF "NEW POLICY ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL COME INTO FORCE AS OF JANUARY 1, 1976." (REPRESENTATIVES OF SEVERAL U.S. COMPANIES, INCLUDING CALTEX, CONTACTED BY EMBASSY, EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND MYSTIFICATION AT SUHARTO'S ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH SEEMED TO CALL FOR IMMEDIATE, NON-NEGOTIATED CHANGE IN PROFIT SPLIT. HOWEVER, AUTHORITATIVE PERTAMINA SOURCE TOLD EMBASSY OFFICER JAN. 9 THAT SUHARTO WAS ONLY STATING GOI'S GENERAL

POLICY INTENTS ALREADY CONVEYED TO COMPANIES IN 1975, WHICH
WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED ONLY AFTER NEGOTIATIONS WITH COMPANIES.)

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INFO AMCONSUL MEDAN
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8. ANOTHER PROMINENT FEATURE OF NEW BUDGET IS AUSTERITY
APPROACH TO ROUTINE EXPENDITURES UP ONLY 6 PERCENT TO
\$3.85 BILLION. THIS VERY MODEST INCREASE, WHICH PROBABLY
REPRESENTS NET DECREASE IN VIEW OF INFLATION, IS TO BE
ACCOMPLISHED APPARENTLY BY CUTTING SOME REGULAR EXPENDI-
TURES AND KEEPING LID ON OTHERS. IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS
YEARS WHEN LARGE COMPREHENSIVE PAY RAISES WERE GRANTED,
ONLY PAY RAISES FOR FY 76 WILL BE FOR LOWEST PAID (CLASS I)
CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PERSONNEL; TOTAL COSTS FOR SALARIES
AND PENSIONS WILL RISE BY ONLY 12 PERCENT TO \$1.55
BILLION. OTHER ROUTINE EXPENDITURES INCLUDE \$755 MILLION
FOR MATERIAL COSTS (VERY MODEST 14 PERCENT INCREASE
CONSIDERING INFLATION VS. 49 PERCENT JUMP IN FY 75 BUDGET);
\$741 MILLION IN SUBSIDIES TO AUTONOMOUS REGIONS; \$432
MILLION FOR DEBT SERVICE COSTS (UP 140 PERCENT FROM FY 75);
\$268 MILLION FOR FOOD IMPORTS (DOWN 100 PERCENT); AND \$96
MILLION FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS (UP 50 PERCENT).

9. ANOTHER ACHIEVEMENT OF NEW BUDGET IS THAT FOR THE FIRST
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TIME, DEVELOPMENT BUDGET OF \$4.6 BILLION EXCEEDS ROUTINE
EXPENDITURES. \$2.9 BILLION OF DEVELOPMENT BUDGET WILL
COME FROM DOMESTIC RECEIPTS, AND \$1.73 BILLION FROM
"FOREIGN AID", (\$1.73 BILLION FOREIGN AID
FIGURE INCLUDES EXPORT-CREDIT FUNDING (EXIMBANK, ECGD,
COFACE, ETC.) AS WELL AS IGGI DONOR ASSISTANCE. MAJOR
DEVELOPMENT ALLOCATIONS MENTIONED IN SPEECH ARE AS FOLLOWS:

10. COMMUNICATIONS BUDGET WHICH WAS NOT SPELLED OUT IN PRESIDENT'S
SPEECH, WILL BE ABOUT \$1 BILLION, ACCORDING GOVERNMENT
FIGURES RELEASED TO PRESS. SUHARTO SAID DOMESTIC
SATELLITE WILL BE LAUNCHED IN FY 76 "GOD WILLING", AND
WILL GENERATE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES THROUGH IMPROVED TELEPHONE,
RADIO AND TELEVISION SERVICE; 7 TV STUDIOS, AND 17 TV
STATIONS WILL BE BUILT AND PUBLIC TV SETS PROVIDED FOR
AREAS WITHIN NETWORK IN FY 76. HE ALSO NOTED HIGHWAY,
RAILWAY, PORT, SHIPPING AND AVIATION EXPANSION AND UPGRADING.

11. AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION WILL RECEIVE \$903 MILLION
(UP 20 PERCENT FROM FY 75). MAIN EMPHASSIS WILL BE ON
SMALL IRRIGATION PROJECTS, BUT RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT
WILL ALSO RECEIVE ATTENTION. TRADITIONAL FISHERIES WILL
BE IMPROVED AND SPECIAL MEASURES TAKEN TO PROTECT SMALL
FISHERMENT AND AVOID REPETITION OF RECENT TENSIONS IN THIS
AREA WHICH SUHARTO SAID "CONTAIN THE SEEDS OF UNREST."
(THIS WAS CLEAR REFERENCE TO FLARE-UPS AT MUNCAR, EAST JAVA
AND OTHER AREAS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL FISHERMEN AND BIGGER,
MECHANIZED OPERATORS DURING PAST TWO YEARS.) COOPERATIVES,
WHICH SUHARTO CALLED "BACKBONE" OF ECONOMY, WILL ALSO BE
GIVEN NEW IMPETUS AND WIDER ROLE.

12. ELECTRIC POWER PROJECTS WILL GET \$507 MILLION UNDER
NEW BUDGET, VS. \$225 MILLION THIS YEAR. (ALTHOUGH THIS
IS SUBSTANTIAL BOOST, IT IS LESS THAN ORIGINALLY PLANNED
BECAUSE LIMITATIONS ON FOREIGN BORROWING NECESSITATED BY
PERTAMINA PROBLEM.)

13. INDUSTRY AND MINING ARE ALLOCATED \$404 MILLION (UP
50 PERCENT). EXPENDITURES ON SMALL-SCALE, EMPLOYMENT-
CREATING INDUSTRY AND HANDICRAFTS WILL INCREASE; WORK WILL
CONTINUE ON SELECTED LARGE PROJECTS INCLUDING PUSRI II, IV
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AND KUJANG UREA FERTILIZER PLANTS; NEW TSP PLANT WILL BE STARTED IN GRESIK, EAST JAVA; AND FUNDS WILL BE ALLOCATED TO THERE NEW CEMENT PLANTS.

14. EDUCATION, CULTURE AND YOUTH AFFAIRS WILL RECEIVE \$344 MILLION UNDER NEW BUDGET (UP 130 PERCENT). SECOND AND FINAL STAGE OF CONSTRUCTING 10,000 NEW GRADE SCHOOLS AND REHABILITATION OF 13,000 OTHERS WILL BE COMPLETED, AND 2,700 PRIVATE AND RELIGIOUS SCHOOL BUILDINGS WILL BE REHABILITATED IN FY 76.

15. FUNDS FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT WILL INCREASE 25 PERCENT TO \$461 MILLION AND WILL INCLUDE NEW "INPRES" PROGRAM OF \$38 MILLION FOR MUCH-NEEDED REFORESTATION FOR RECLAMATION OF ECOLOGICALLY DISTRESSED RURAL AREAS. (THIS IS SUBJECT OF GROWING CONCERN TO GOI.)

16. NEW BUDGET ALLOCATES \$359 MILLION FOR GOVERNMENT CAPITAL PARTICIPATION FUND. (SMALL PORTION OF THIS WILL REPORTEDLY BE USED TO PURCHASE SHARES IN FOREIGN AND CHINESE ENTERPRISES TO BE HELD IN TRUST AND EVENTUALLY SOLD TO INDIVIDUALS. WE ARE SEEKING INFORMATION ON DISPOSITION OF BALANCE.)

17. HEALTH, FAMILY PLANNING AND SOCIAL WELFARE ARE ALLOCATED \$121 MILLION UNDER NEW BUDGET TO INCLUDE FUNDING CONSTRUCTION OF 350 NEW HEALTH CENTERS AND COMPLETE REPELITA II TARGET OF ONE HEALTH CENTER FOR EACH DISTRICT. 800 EXISTING CENTERS WILL ALSO BE REHABILITATED; \$68 MILLION WILL BE DEVOTED TO PUBLIC HOUSING AND DRINKING WATER PROJECTS.

18. DEVELOPMENT BUDGET FOR DEFENSE AND SECURITY, WHICH SUHARTO MENTIONED WITHOUT ELABORATION, WILL GET \$103 MILLION IN FY-76. (FY75 DEFENSE DEVELOPMENT BUDGET WAS NOT PUBLICIZED, BUT WAS REPORTEDLY \$43.5 MILLION. '4676 FIGURE THUS REPRESENTS OVER 60 PERCENT INCREASE IN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET. ROUTINE BUDGET FOR DEFENSE NOT YET AVAILABLE.)

19. IMPROVEMENT OF STATE APPARATUS IS ALLOCATED SUBSTANTIAL SUM OF \$118 MILLION. TRANSMIGRATION AND MANPOWER WILL RECEIVE UNCLASSIFIED

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\$70 MILLION (UP 100 PERCENT); AND EMPHASIS IN TRANSMIGRATION WILL CHANGE TO PREPARATION OF TRANSMIGRATION SITES TO MAKE THEM MORE ATTRACTIVE. SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY RESEARCH AND STATISTICS WILL GET \$67 MILLION UNDER NEW BUDGET; SUHARTO DESCRIBED THIS AS SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE.

20. COMMENT: SUHARTO'S FRANK TREATMENT OF PERTAMINA PROBLEM IS ANOTHER ENCOURAGING SIGN OF GOI'S DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE STEPS TO RATIONALIZE AND CONTROL PERTAMINA AND PREVENT RECURRENCE OF SIMILAR DEBACLE IN FUTURE. TIGHT REIGN ON ROUTINE EXPENDITURES IN FAVOR OF INCREASED DEVELOPMENT BUDGET AND CONTINUED DISCIPLINE ON FOREIGN BORROWING BY GOI AGENCIES AND ON DOMESTIC CREDIT EXPANSION TO COMBAT CONTINUING HIGH INFLATION ARE ALSO LAUDIBLE. ABSENCE OF GOVERNMENT PAY RAISES FOR ALL BUT LOWEST CATEGORY AND CONTINUED TIGHT MONEY POLICIES WILL, HOWEVER, BE POLITICALLY UNPOPULAR. ALTHOUGH SUHARTO REPEATEDLY STRESSED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE OBJECTIVES OF NEW BUDGET, IN FACT, AT LEAST 30-40 0/0 OF FY 76 BUDGET WILL BE SPEND ON BIG INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS SUCH AS COMMUNICATIONS AND ELECTRIC POWER WHICH WILL NOT PRODUCE RAPID PAYOFF IN PERSONAL INCOME. 130 PERCENT INCREASE IN EDUCATION BUDGET TO \$344 IS ALSO ENCOURAGING, BUT EDUCATION PROBABLY STILL DESERVES HIGHER PRIORITY GIVEN SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS IN THIS AREA.

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